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IO:GDALLEY (DRAFT)
IO/IEP:DCOHN (DRAFT)
IO/UNP:RLBARRY (DRAFT)
IO/HR:WEHEWITT (DRAFT)
EB/ORF/FSE:AWATSON (DRAFT)
USUN:RWPETREE (DRAFT)
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AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST POUCH
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS POUCH
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
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MONTREAL FOR US REP ICAO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS AT THE
32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY

REF: A) STATE 000207, B) 77 STATE 305734, C) 205678
D) USUN 0043 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THIS IS THE SECOND OF TWO CABLES
ASSESSING THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY (ALSO SEE REFTEL A).
IT DISCUSSES POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY
(DISARMAMENT) DEVELOPMENTS AND IDENTIFIES PROBLEMS AND
ACHIEVEMENTS OF U.S. MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY AS REFLECTED
IN THE RECENTLY-CONCLUDED ASSEMBLY. IT CONCLUDES THAT THE
ASSEMBLY WAS AN OVERALL SUCCESS FOR THE U.S., PRIMARILY BY
ACCELERATING THE TREND AWAY FROM THE CONFRONTATIONAL MOOD

OF 1974-1975 BUT ALSO BY SETTING IN MOTION SOME POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT STEPS FORWARD ON SUCH ISSUES AS CYPRUS AND THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. ALONG WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S CLOSING SPEECH TO THE ASSEMBLY (REFTEL B AND WIRELESS) AND THE PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT CONTAINED IN CFR NO. 51 OF DECEMBER 21, 1977, THE CABLE IS INTENDED TO PROVIDE AMBASSADORS AND EMBASSY OFFICERS WITH BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON WHICH TO DRAW IN THEIR CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH

MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS COLLEAGUES IN HOST GOVERNMENTS. IF APPROPRIATE, POSTS SHOULD USE THE TWO CABLES AS THE BASIS FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE SESSION AND A TOUR D'HORIZON OF MULTILATERAL ISSUES. THE DEPARTMENT WOULD WELCOME REPORTS ON SUCH EXCHANGES, INCLUDING, CONFIDENTIAL

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IF POSSIBLE, EARLY WARNING OF MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES AND SHIFTS ON KEY MULTILATERAL ISSUES THAT MAY BE CONTEMPLATED BY HOST GOVERNMENTS. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE POST RECOMMENDATIONS ON CONSULTATIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS PRIOR TO THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE BELIEVE THAT EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS CARRIED OUT BEFORE THE 32ND ASSEMBLY CONTRIBUTED IMPORTANTLY TO THE MORE POSITIVE RESULTS OBTAINED AT THIS SESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TOOK OFFICE AT THE BEGINNING OF 1977 CONVINCED THAT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LDCS) IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WERE ESSENTIAL TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF KEY U.S. BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL GOALS AND THAT MUCH STILL REMAINED TO BE DONE TO REPAIR THOSE RELATIONS AFTER EARLIER BITTERLY CONFRONTATIONAL SESSIONS. THERE HAD BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE PREVIOUS (31ST) SESSION, BUT THERE WAS NO CERTAINTY THAT THE TREND AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION WOULD CONTINUE. NOR WAS IT CLEAR THAT THE UN COULD BE USED TO IDENTIFY COMMON INTERESTS ON A GROWING NUMBER OF MAJOR WORLD ISSUES.

3. ATMOSPHERICS. IN FACT, THERE WAS LESS POSTURING AT THIS SESSION THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS AND A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO COME TO GRIPS WITH SUBSTANCE: MORE EFFECTIVE AND WIDESPREAD USE OF SMALL WORKING GROUPS TO CONDUCT QUIET NEGOTIATIONS ON CONTENTIOUS ISSUES; GREATER READINESS TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER VIEWS IN THE LANGUAGE OF RESOLUTIONS (ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF ARMS CONTROL, BUT NOT ON THE MIDDLE EAST); AND INCREASED RESORT TO CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING IN PLACE OF DIVISIVE VOTING. NOT EVERY MEMBER SHARED IN THE MORE CONCILIATORY SPIRIT, OF COURSE, AND THERE WERE ISSUES ON WHICH MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE

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DIFFERENCES DEFIED THE BEST EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT A CONSCIOUS EFFORT BY THE U.S. AND OTHER MEMBER STATES, BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, SUCCEEDED IN RAISING THE LEVEL OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND IN EASING STRAINED RELATIONS .
THE U.S. MADE AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD EFFORT TO SHOW A MORE POSITIVE FACE IN THE UN AND TO ADDRESS THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' CONCERNS IN A SERIOUS MANNER. OUR EFFORT WAS WELCOMED BY THE DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES AND ELICITED A FAVORABLE RESPONSE IN RETURN ON SEVERAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US, INCLUDING GUAM AND PUERTO RICO. THE CONFIDENCE FACTOR SEEMED TO OPERATE MOST NOTICEABLY AMONG THE AFRICANS, WHO WERE CAREFULLY FOLLOWING AND, IN SOME CASES, TAKING PART IN MAJOR U.S. INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (SEE 7B). THE DEMONSTRATED INTEREST OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL U.S. OFFICIALS IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BOLSTERED U.S. WORKING RELATIONS WITH THE CARIBBEAN STATES. WE ALSO WORKED MORE CLOSELY AND EFFECTIVELY WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, AND FOUND AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST WITH THE SOVIETS, WHO WERE GREATLY PLEASED WITH THE FOCUS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS.

4. WE BELIEVE THE CONFIDENCE FACTOR IS HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT IN THE IMPROVED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AT THE UN AND WISH TO IMPRESS UPON HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT THE U.S. INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO WORK BOTH IN THE UN AND BILATERALLY TOWARD MUTUALLY-SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS OF PROBLEMS. ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES CAN PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN PRODUCING SUCH SOLUTIONS, AND THE US WELCOMES OPPORTUNITIES TO DISCUSS MULTILATERAL ISSUES BILATERALLY IN ADVANCE OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSIONS AND OTHER MAJOR UN MEETINGS SO THAT WE CAN BETTER ANTICIPATE OUR MUTUAL CONCERNS AND INTERESTS.

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5. DYNAMICS. REGIONAL AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS CONTINUED TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE VOTING LINE-UP. THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM), ON POLITICAL AND SECURITY (DISARMAMENT) ISSUES, AND THE GROUP OF 77 (G-77), ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THAT, DESPITE DIFFERING INTERESTS, THE LDCS CAN MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY AND

MOBILIZE OVERWHELMING VOTING STRENGTH IF AN ISSUE IS VITAL TO THEM. SOME OF THE ASIANS IN THE AFRO-ASIAN GROUP EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION AT THE GROUPS' PREOCCUPATION WITH AFRICAN ISSUES AND CONCERNS. A MOVE BY THE ASIANS TO FORM THEIR OWN SEPARATE REGIONAL GROUP TOOK SHAPE AT THIS SESSION AND MAY WELL SUCCEED NEXT YEAR. THIS APPEARS TO BE PART OF A GENERAL FEELING AMONG ASIANS THAT THEIR VIEWS AND CONCERNS ARE BEING NEGLECTED AT THE UN. THE SENSITIVITY OF REGIONAL GROUPS TO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE WAS DEMONSTRATED BY THE RIVALRY OF NIGER, THE OFFICIAL AFRICAN CANDIDATE, AND NIGERIA, FOR A NON-PERMANENT SEAT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE CAMPAIGN FOR VOTES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH NIGERIA EVENTUALLY WON, WAS EMBITTERED TO SOME EXTENT BY RESENTMENT AGAINST

COUNTRIES FAILING TO SUPPORT THE OFFICIAL CANDIDATE IN THE SECRET BALLOT. FYI. AS A MATTER OF POLICY, THE US NEVER REVEALS ITS VOTE IN SECRET BALLOTS. OUR TRADITIONAL POSITION IS THAT WE SUPPORT THE REGIONAL CANDIDATE WHERE THERE IS ONE. END FYI.

6. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES AGAIN FAILED TO MAKE MUCH OF AN IMPRESSION ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE TWO MAJOR SOVIET INITIATIVES INTRODUCED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IN HIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH WERE A "DECLARATION" ON DETENTE AND A RESOLUTION ON PREVENTION
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OF NUCLEAR WAR - BOTH NEW PACKAGES FOR OLD SOVIET IDEAS. THE DETENTE DECLARATION WAS SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED AND ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS BUT WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM. THE "PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR" RESOLUTION, WITH ITS CALLS, INTER ALIA, FOR A TREATY ON NON-USE OF FORCE AND FOR AN AGREEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL OF SHIPS CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM AREAS OF THE WORLD'S OCEANS, STIRRED WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION AND WAS NOT ACTED UPON. OTHERWISE, THE SOVIETS GENERALLY REPEATED LDC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEMANDS. WHERE MONEY WAS INVOLVED, HOWEVER, THEY TOOK THEIR TRADITIONAL TIGHT-FISTED POSITION OF OPPOSITION. ON SOME ISSUES, E.G., HIJACKING, SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS EMBARGO, THEY PRIVATELY SUPPORTED UNHELPFUL OR RADICAL POSITIONS. THEY CONTINUED TO CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CURRENT GLOBAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND, THEREFORE, NO OBLIGATION TO GIVE COMPENSATORY ASSISTANCE TO THE LDCS. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE SOVIETS' ALOOFNESS FROM WESTERN-INSPIRED MIDDLE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS, PROBABLY BECAUSE THEY WERE WESTERN-INSPIRED, AND THEIR FAILURE TO RESPOND IN A MEANINGFUL WAY TO LDC ECONOMIC CONCERNS GAVE SOVIET PROPAGANDA A THREADBARE LOOK TO MANY OF THE DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES.

7. POLITICAL ISSUES. NO SOLUTIONS TO PERENNIAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS WERE EXPECTED OR FOUND AS A RESULT OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH GENERALLY FOLLOWED WELL-WORN GROOVES. YET THE OVERALL TONE OF THE DEBATE WAS GENERALLY MORE MODERATE THAN IN THE RECENT PAST AND HELPED TO PROVIDE A MORE FAVORABLE SETTING FOR DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS ;OING ON ELSEWHERE. PRIVATE CONTACTS IN THE CORRIDORS OF THE UN WERE HELPFUL TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS OR IN ESTABLISHING A BASIS, EVEN IF MODEST, FOR FUTURE PROGRESS ON SEVERAL CONTENTIOUS ISSUES.

A. MIDDLE EAST. THE MIDDLE EAST DEBATE WAS THE MOST
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DISAPPOINTING OF UN DEBATES AGAIN THIS YEAR. AS INDICATED IN CFR NO. 49 OF DECEMBER 7, 1977, IT PROCEEDED ALONG FAMILIAR LINES EVEN THOUGH UNPRECEDENTED DEVELOPMENTS WERE TAKING PLACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AS A RESULT, THE DEBATE BORE A CERTAIN AIR OF UNREALITY. MOST DELEGATIONS CHOSE TO IGNORE THE HISTORIC SADAT-BEGIN INITIATIVE. ONLY A FEW COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF THE WEST WERE WILLING TO SAY ANYTHING POSITIVE ABOUT IT (ROMANIA WAS ONE OF THESE). THE ARABS, ALTHOUGH AGAIN DEMONSTRATING THEIR ABILITY TO INVOKE THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY TO INSURE PASSAGE OF A NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS CRITICAL OF ISRAEL AND FAVORING PALESTINIAN POLITICAL RIGHTS, WERE BADLY SPLIT BETWEEN HARDLINERS, E.G., LIBYA, IRAQ, SYRIA, AND MORE MODERATE STATES, E.G. EGYPT, JORDAN. A SHARP PERSONAL ATTACK BY THE SYRIAN REPRESENTATIVE ON HIS EGYPTIAN COLLEAGUE BACKFIRED AND DID NOT LEAD TO THE GENERAL DENUNCIATION OF SADAT THAT SYRIA HAD HOPED TO SEE DEVELOP. OUR WORKING RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB MODERATES IN THE UN WERE FACILITATED AS A RESULT OF THE SADAT-BEGIN INITIATIVE. AFRICAN IMPATIENCE WITH THE ARABS' SINGLE-MINDED EFFORT TO TURN EVERY DEBATE TO THEIR ADVANTAGE AND THE SPLIT IN ARAB RANKS DIMINISHED THE IMPACT OF THE ANTI-ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, THE ISRAELIS REACTED SHARPLY TO THE UNFAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE. THEY PULLED OUT ALL THE RHETORICAL STOPS IN DENOUNCING THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION CRITICIZING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THIS PASSED 131-1-7 (US). THOUGH THE US AND OTHERS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN SIDETRACKING AN ARAB INITIATIVE TO CREATE A UN CENTER ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, THE ISRAELIS TOOK PARTICULAR EXCEPTION TO THE ARAB FALLBACK TACTIC, WHICH WAS SUCCESSFUL, OF PRESSING A RESOLUTION TO INCREASE THE STAFF OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE. THIS PASSED BY A VOTE OF 95-20 (US)-26 WITH THE NEGATIVE VOTES AND ABSTEN-
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TIONS REPRESENTING STATES CONTRIBUTING ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF THE UN BUDGET. THE U.S. OPPOSED OR ABSTAINED ON MOST OF THE NARROWLY-POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS, BUT WAS ABLE TO JOIN THE MAJORITY IN SUPPORTING CONTINUED ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINIAN REFUGEES AND IN APPROVING FUNDS FOR THE UN'S IMPORTANT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE SINAI AND ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS.

B. SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE USUALLY CONTENTIOUS SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES RECEIVED EXTENSIVE ATTENTION, BUT THE TONE OF THE DEBATES WAS MARKEDLY LESS STRAINED THAN DURING RECENT SESSIONS. A MAJOR REASON FOR THE IMPROVEMENT WAS THE SIGNIFICANT SHIFT WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE U.S.' AFRICAN POLICY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 31ST AND 32ND SESSIONS, A SHIFT WHICH WAS TYPIFIED BY OUR SUPPORT FOR A MAJORITY OF THE RESOLUTIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE AFRICANS ON APARTHEID AND NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS OUR VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN FAVOR OF THE MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REPEAL EARLIER IN THE YEAR OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT WHICH HAD PLACED US IN VIOLATION OF UN SANCTIONS ON PURCHASES OF RHODESIAN CHROME. IN MOST CASES, THE OTHER WESTERN POWERS TENDED TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD. WESTERN COHESION ON AFRICAN ISSUES WAS AIDED GREATLY AT THIS SESSION BY THE FORMATION AND EFFECTIVE USE OF AN INFORMAL CAUCUS OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE MORE RELAXED MOOD OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEBATE WAS THE IMPACT OF WESTERN-INITIATED NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. WHILE MANY OF THE AFRICANS WERE FRANKLY SKEPTICAL THAT EITHER NEGOTIATION WOULD SUCCEED, MOST OF THEM, RECOGNIZING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WESTERN INITIATIVES, WERE WILLING TO FOREGO ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH COULD HAVE COMPLICATED MATTERS. THUS, WE WERE ABLE TO AVOID INAPPROPRIATE ACTIONS IN THE RHODESIAN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE WITHOUT DOING MAJOR DAMAGE TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICANS.

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HOWEVER, OUR RELATIVELY FAVORABLE EXPERIENCE ON AFRICAN ISSUES AT THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE PROBLEMS WE FACED IN EARLIER YEARS WILL NOT RECUR. THE AFRICANS WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS US TO MOVE FURTHER IN IMPOSING SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND SETBACKS IN EITHER THE NAMIBIAN OR RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS COULD WELL BRING US BACK TO A MORE CONFRONTATIONAL MOOD.

C. ZIONISM/RACISM. THE US MADE A BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORT TO DIVORCE THE ZIONISM/RACISM RESOLUTION (3379 OF 1975) FROM THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM, PLANNED FOR 1978. THIS EFFORT FAILED FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS - THE US ABSTENTION ON THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION REGARDING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS MAY HAVE BEEN DECISIVE - AND THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY CONTAINED AN IMPLIED REFERENCE TO 3379. THE WESTERN EUROPEANS TOOK THE VIEW THAT THE LANGUAGE DID NOT COVER 3379 AND SUPPORTED THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTION. THE US TOOK A STRICTER READING AND CHOSE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTE. FOR THE SECOND STRAIGHT YEAR, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO DIRECT CITATION OF 3379 IN ANY RESOLUTION, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH SUGGESTS A FURTHER VITIATION OF ITS IMPACT.

D. CYPRUS. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROVIDED THE FORUM FOR THE INITIATION OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES AIMED AT FORMING A JOINT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CASES OF PERSONS MISSING AS A RESULT OF INTERCOMMUNAL VIOLENCE AND THE INTERVENTION OF 1974. THESE NEGOTIATIONS TOOK ON SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE SINCE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME WOULD REPRESENT THE FIRST FORMAL AGREEMENT ON ANY SUBJECT BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES SINCE THE RENEWAL OF INTERCOMMUNAL FIGHTING IN 1963. BECAUSE OF THIS INITIATIVE, WE WERE ABLE TO
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SECURE A RESOLUTION WHICH WAS GENERALLY SATISFACTORY TO BOTH THE GREEKS AND TURKS. AT THE SAME TIME, WHILE CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON THE INITIATIVE, THE TWO SIDES WERE UNABLE TO TAKE THE FINAL STEP. SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM IS NOW TRYING TO FOLLOW THROUGH.

E. GUAM/PUERTO RICO. ATTEMPTS TO CONDEMN U.S. MILITARY BASES ON GUAM AND TO LABEL PUERTO RICO AS A U.S. COLONY WERE LESS SUCCESSFUL THIS YEAR THAN IN RECENT YEARS IN PART BECAUSE OF U.S. DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN THE UN AND CAPITALS. WE WERE ABLE TO HAMMER OUT A CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ON GUAM WHICH WAS A SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT OVER RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IN 1975 AND 1976. WE WERE ABLE TO KEEP PUERTO RICO OFF THE AGENDA, AT LEAST AT THIS SESSION, WITH A VOTE IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24 TO ADJOURN WITHOUT ACTING ON A CUBAN RESOLUTION. THE MOTION CARRIED BY A LARGER MAJORITY THAN A SIMILAR MOTION IN 1975. THE DEPARTMENT RECOGNIZES AND APPRECIATES THE ESSENTIAL PART PLAYED BY POSTS IN THESE SUCCESSES. THESE TWO ISSUES EMBODIED PECULIARLY AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS, AND THE OUTCOME REFLECTED NOT ONLY THE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL ATMOSPHERE AT THIS SESSION BUT A GENERAL ACCEPTANCE IN THE WORLD OF A US THAT REASONABLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY DEFENDS ITS

INTERESTS IN THE UN. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT THESE ISSUES HAVE GONE AWAY. ON PUERTO RICO, ESPECIALLY, WHERE A POLITICAL EVOLUTION IS TAKING PLACE, WE MAY HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME AT FUTURE SESSIONS. THIS YEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME, ADVOCATES OF ALL MAJOR POLITICAL STATUS OPTIONS IN PUERTO RICO - COMMONWEALTH, STATEHOOD AND INDEPENDENCE - ATTENDED THE COMMITTEE OF 24 PROCEEDINGS, THEREBY ENCOURAGING - DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY - FURTHER UN INVOLVEMENT. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS STATED THAT HE WILL SUPPORT WHATEVER STATUS THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO CHOOSE, BUT THAT THE INITIATIVE FOR ANY CHANGE SHOULD COME FROM THEM. THE GOVERNMENT OF PUERTO RICO OPPOSES UN INVOLVEMENT. POST COMMENTS ON TIMING AND CONTENT OF APPROACHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS BEFORE THE 33RD GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSEMBLY WILL BE HELPFUL TO DEPARTMENT PLANNING. F. PHILIPPINE OFFER TO HOST 33RD ASSEMBLY. APPARENTLY FOR REASONS OF PRESTIGE, THE PHILIPPINES INVITED THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO HOLD ITS 33RD SESSION IN MANILA, AND MOUNTED AN INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN TO SECURE APPROVAL. THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UN AND THE LIKELY PERSONAL AND LOGISTICAL INCONVENIENCES OF HOLDING THE SESSION IN MANILA PRODUCED ALMOST UNIVERSAL ANTIPATHY TO THE IDEA. THE INVITATION MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN TAKEN SERIOUSLY IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE GENERAL RELUCTANCE, WHICH WAS PARTICULARLY ACUTE AMONG ASEAN MEMBERS, TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST A PROPOSAL FROM A THIRD WORLD GOVERNMENT. AS IT WAS, ONLY A STRENUOUS BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORT MADE IT POSSIBLE TO HEAD OFF THE PHILIPPINE INVITATION. THE U.S. COOPERATED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL GEOGRAPHIC GROUPS, ESPECIALLY THE LATIN AMERICANS, SOVIETS AND WESTERN EUROPEANS, TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE FILIPINOS TO WITHDRAW THE OFFER. THE PHILIPPINES INDICATED THAT THEY INTEND TO RE-ISSUE THE INVITATION.

G. KOREA. THIS PERENNIAL WAS NOT INSCRIBED THIS YEAR BY EITHER SIDE, TO THE OBVIOUS RELIEF OF MOST DELEGATIONS. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, DISCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY THAT NORTH KOREA WILL SEEK IN SOME FASHION TO REINSCRIBE THE ISSUE AT THE NEXT SESSION. THE US BELIEVES REINSCRIPTION WOULD NOT BE USEFUL IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, AND WE MUST REMAIN ALERT FOR POSSIBLE NORTH KOREAN INITIATIVES. POST REPORTING ON ANY NORTH KOREAN DEMARCHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS OR ON SHIFTS IN HOST GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TOWARD US, NORTH KOREAN, SOVIET OR CHINESE POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO REINSCRIPTION WOULD BE APPRECIATED, BUT POSTS SHOULD NOT INITIATE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE.

8. ECONOMIC ISSUES. EVIDENTLY PERCEIVING THAT THE OLD-STYLE CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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AT THIS STAGE, THE G-77 LOWERED THE DECIBELS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AT THIS SESSION. NEVERTHELESS, THE SESSION DEMONSTRATED THAT LARGE GAPS REMAIN BETWEEN THE

POSITIONS OF THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN SPITE OF THE IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE, AND THAT ON SUCH ISSUES AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMON FUND FOR COMMODITIES AND GENERALIZED DEBT RELIEF WE ARE ONLY AT THE BEGINNING OF A LONG PERIOD OF DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE G-77. THE SKILLFULLY-ORCHESTRATED G-77 CAMPAIGN TO OBTAIN SELECTIVE ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS, WHICH WE HAVE SEEN IN OPERATION FOR SOME TIME, UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATIONS AND COORDINATION OF POSITIONS AMONG COUNTRIES WITH MARKET ECONOMIES, ESPECIALLY THE U.S., EC NINE, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SW DEN AND JAPAN. WE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES BEFORE AND DURING THE SESSION, AND BELIEVE THAT CONTINUED EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION/COORDINATION ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES IS ESSENTIAL. BY THE SAME TOKEN, WE NEED TO CONSULT REGULARLY AND THOROUGHLY WITH THE LEADERS OF THE G-77, SUCH AS JAMAICA, PAKISTAN, YUGOSLAVIA, BRAZIL, PERU, ARGENTINA, VENEZUELA, IRAN, NIGERIA, KENYA, INDONESIA, AND INDIA, IN ORDER TO CLARIFY POSITIONS AND IDENTIFY POSSIBLE AREAS OF AGREEMENT ON THE MAJOR ECONOMIC ISSUES.

A. OVERVIEW MECHANISM. DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CREATION OF AN OVERVIEW MECHANISM FOR THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE RESULTED IN A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE LDCS AND THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WHICH: (1) ESTABLISHES A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE UNDER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MEETING INTERSESSIONALLY, TO SERVE AS THE OVERVIEW BODY UNTIL 1980, WITH WORKING ARRANGEMENTS TO BE DETERMINED BY THE COMMITTEE; (2) PROVIDES A MANDATE FOR THE MONITORING FUNCTIONS, FACILITATION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND A HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BUT ELIMINATES G-77 LANGUAGE THAT INVITED GENERAL ASSEMBLY INTERFERENCE AND ASSUMPTION OF

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NEGOTIATIONS IN OTHER FORA; (3) CALLS A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1980 TO ASSESS UN PROGRESS IN ACHIEVING THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND ADOPT A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (IDS); AND (4) ELIMINATES PROVISIONS OF THE G-77 DRAFT IDENTIFYING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES TO BE OVERVIEWED AND SLANTING MANY OF THESE IN THE DIRECTION OF G-77 POSITIONS THAT WE OPPOSE.

OUR DELEGATION JOINED A CONSENSUS ON THIS RESOLUTION FOLLOWED BY AN EXPLANATION COVERING RESERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS ON SEVERAL POINTS.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE OVERVIEW BODY WILL OCCUR IN FEBRUARY.

B. COMMON FUND. IN ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING EXAMPLES OF THE OLD CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS AT THIS SESSION, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED A G-77 RESOLUTION (127 TO 0

WITH 13 ABSTENTIONS - U.S., CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, UK, FRANCE, FRG, IRELAND, ITALY, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG, GREECE AND JAPAN) EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN THAT THE GENEVA COMMON FUND TALKS HAD TO BE SUSPENDED BECAUSE OF FAILURE TO AGREE ON THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF A FUND, NOTING THAT THE LDCS AND MANY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WERE AGREED ON THOSE ELEMENTS AND CALLING UPON THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT YET DONE SO (E.G., THE U.S.) TO TAKE THE NECESSARY POLITICAL DECISIONS TO ENABLE THE NEGOTIATING CONFERENCE TO RESUME ITS WORK. NEGOTIATIONS IN COMMITTEE TWO -- IN WHICH THE U.S., UK, FRG, JAPAN, JAMAICA, VENEZUELA AND PAKISTAN PLAYED LEADING ROLES -- FAILED TO PERSUADE THE G-77 TO WITHDRAW THE RESOLUTION OR, AT LEAST, TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE TEXT. (SEE STATE 310876 FOR THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION AND THE U.S. STATEMENT AFTER IT PASSED IN COMMITTEE TWO.)

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C. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. ALTHOUGH IT HAD BEEN DECIDED AT THE PREVIOUS SESSION THAT THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD SET UP THE MACHINERY AND PROCEDURES FOR ELABORATING A NEW IDS FOR THE THIRD DEVELOPMENT DECADE, A G-77 RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN THIS RESPONSIBILITY TO ECOSOC'S REVIEW AND APPRAISAL COMMITTEE WAS NOT ACTED UPON. THE U.S. AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAD PROBLEMS WITH THE DRAFT BECAUSE IT INCLUDED PRE- - JUDGED G-77 POSITIONS AND TARGETS FOR THE IDS. OUR POSITION WAS THAT SUBSTANCE WAS TO BE PRODUCED BY THE PREPARATORY MACHINERY. THE G-77 CHOSE NOT TO PRESS THE POINT AND, IN GENERAL, SEEMED TO BE LOSING INTEREST IN THE IDS. HOWEVER, THE DRAFT RESOLUTION REMAINS ON THE TABLE TO BE CARRIED OVER TO THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

D. DEBT. A G-77 RESOLUTION CALLED ON THE UNCTAD TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD TO TAKE ACTION ON LDC DEMANDS FOR GENERALIZED DEBT RELIEF AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SYSTEM OF DEBT RENEGOTIATION AT ITS MARCH 1978 MINISTERIAL MEETING. IT ALSO CALLED ON THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO CANCEL OUTSTANDING OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE LOANS. THERE WERE 30 ABSTENTIONS AMONG WESTERN AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE U.S. CAST THE ONLY NEGATIVE

VOTE, EXPLAINING OUR SUPPORT FOR THE CASE-BY-CASE APPROACH AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE DEBT SERVICING PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES PURSUANT TO THAT APPROACH. A FEW UPPER-LEVEL LDCS, WHILE VOTING FOR THE RESOLUTION, STATED THAT IT DID NOT APPLY TO THOSE COUNTRIES NOT WISHING TO PARTICIPATE IN GENERALIZED DEBT RELIEF (IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THEIR CREDITWORTHINESS).

E. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THERE WAS A PROLIFERATION OF RESOLUTIONS (ABOUT A DOZEN) URGING SPECIAL ASSISTANCE TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, TWO OF WHICH RAISED POLITICAL/LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS FOR US. WE ALLOWED RESOLUTIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM AND
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MOZAMBIQUE TO BE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS, BUT DISASSOCIATED OURSELVES FROM THE CONSENSUS ON VIETNAM AND EXPLAINED OUR LEGISLATIVE CONSTRAINTS WITH RESPECT TO MOZAMBIQUE.

F. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CONFERENCE. AFTER SOME LOW-KEY SKIRMISHING BETWEEN MEXICO, AUSTRIA AND THE US, EACH OF WHICH HAD OFFERED TO HOST THE 1978 UN CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTED TO HOLD THE CONFERENCE IN VIENNA. THE COMPETITION WAS FRIENDLY, AND THE CHOICE OF VIENNA LEFT NO HARD FEELINGS.

9. HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THE U.S. WAS ACTIVE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE AND OUR CONTINUED INTEREST, BOTH DIRECT AND BEHIND-THE-SCENES, IS CONSIDERED TO BE ESSENTIAL TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. PRESIDENT CARTER SIGNED THE COVENANT ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AND THE COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, TAKING A DECISION WHICH HAD BEEN DELAYED FOR MANY YEARS AND DEMONSTRATING U.S. CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (THE NEXT STEP IS TO SEND THE COVENANTS TO THE SENATE FOR ITS ADVICE AND CONSENT). THIS YEAR MARKED SOME PROGRESS IN HAMMERING OUT A WIDER CONSENSUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS: (A) THE U.S. FORMALLY ACCORDED EQUAL PRIORITY TO BOTH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS; AND (B) A GROWING NUMBER OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ACCORDED GREATER PRIORITY TO THIS FIELD. NEVERTHELESS, PROGRESS WILL COME ONE STEP AT A TIME BECAUSE OF THE GREAT SENSITIVITY OF THE SUBJECT. AT THIS ASSEMBLY, THE GROUND MAY HAVE BEEN PREPARED FOR SOME CONCRETE PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE.

A. HIGH COMMISSIONER. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED A NON-ALIGNED RESOLUTION WHICH DECLARED THAT FUTURE UN WORK WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS. WHILE AGREEING WITH MUCH OF
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THE RESOLUTION, THE U.S. ABSTAINED BECAUSE WE WERE DIS-SATISFIED WITH THE OVER-EMPHASIS ON COLLECTIVE RIGHTS. IN CONTRAST TO THE RECEPTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED RESOLUTION, A WESTERN-BACKED COSTA RICAN PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WAS NARROWLY DEFERRED IN A PROCEDURAL MANEUVER LED BY CUBA. SEVEN VOTES WOULD HAVE MOVED THE ISSUE THE OTHER WAY. THE PROPOSAL WILL BE CONSIDERED AGAIN AT THE NEXT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC) MEETING IN GENEVA IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1978. WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE COSTA RICAN PROPOSAL GAINED SUPPORT FROM A MUCH BROADER SPECTRUM OF STATES THAN IN THE PAST. WE BELIEVE THE IDEA REMAINS VERY MUCH ALIVE AND WE INTEND TO EXPLORE CAREFULLY THE POSSIBILITIES FOR SECURING ADOPTION AT THE NEXT SESSION. WE WILL BE SEEKING POSTS' ASSISTANCE IN FOLLOW-UP ACTION AND WOULD WELCOME POST COMMENTS ON APPROACHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS.

B. UGANDA. THE NORDIC STATES INITIATED A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN UGANDA WHICH HELPED BREAK THE ICE ON THIS CRITICAL ISSUE. THE RESOLUTION NEVER CAME TO A VOTE BECAUSE THE AFRICAN STATES FOUND IT POLITICALLY UNPALATABLE THAT ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS SHOULD BE SINGLED OUT IN THIS WAY. NEVERTHELESS, THE NORDIC RESOLUTION STIMULATED A VIGOROUS INTERNAL AFRICAN DEBATE AND LED TO AN AGREEMENT WHEREBY THE NORDICS WOULD NOT PRESS THE ISSUE TO A VOTE BUT THE CHAIR WOULD STATE THE GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE HRC SHOULD TAKE UP THE ISSUE. IN ADDITION, AS A RESULT OF THE NORDIC EFFORT, THE AFRICANS SUPPORTED A NIGERIAN INITIATIVE PROPOSING THE CREATION OF REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY WHERE NONE EXISTS (AS IN AFRICA), ENSURING ITS ADOPTION. WE PLAN FOLLOW-UP ACTION HERE, TOO, AND WOULD WELCOME POST COMMENTS.

C. HIJACKING. IN RESPONSE TO THE LUFTHANSA AND JAL HIJACKINGS, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE FIRST TIME UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ALL ACTS OF AERIAL HIJACKING AND CALLING ON ALL STATES WHICH HAVE NOT YET DONE SO TO ADHERE TO THE THREE ICAO ANTI-HIJACKING
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CONVENTIONS. ALTHOUGH WE TRIED TO REMAIN IN THE BACK-GROUND TO AVOID DRAWING PARTISAN FIRE, THE U.S. PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN MOBILIZING SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION. SENSING STRONG INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FOR ACTION, THE MORE RADICAL ARABS AND THE CUBANS DID NOT MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO BLOCK GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION, AND ULTIMATELY ACCEDED TO PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION AFTER INTRODUCING SEVERAL

UNHELPFUL BUT NOT CRIPPLING AMENDMENTS. WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING A NUMBER OF STEPS TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS UN POLICY BREAKTHROUGH.

D. TORTURE. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED THREE RESOLUTIONS ON TORTURE. ONE PROPOSAL, INITIATED BY THE NETHERLANDS, CALLS FOR A UN QUESTIONNAIRE ON TORTURE; ONE BY INDIA PROVIDES FOR A UNILATERAL DECLARATION BY MEMBERS OF ADHERENCE TO THE UN DECLARATION AGAINST TORTURE; AND A SWEDISH PROPOSAL CALLS ON THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO DRAW UP A CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE. A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND CITING THE DEATH OF STEPHEN BIKO, WAS ALSO ADOPTED.

E. WOMEN. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY APPROVED A VARIETY OF PLANS AND PROGRAMS FOR THE 1976-1985 DECADE FOR WOMEN, ADOPTING SIX OF SEVEN RESOLUTIONS BY CONSENSUS. ONLY ONE RESOLUTION, A PROPAGANDA PIECE BY THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, INTRODUCED UNACCEPTABLE AND EXTRANEIOUS POLITICAL ELEMENTS INTO THE DECADE. THE U.S. WAS BY FAR THE LARGEST DONOR, CONTRIBUTING A TOTAL OF \$3 MILLION AT THE PLEDGING CONFERENCE FOR THE DECADE. THE EASTERN EUROPEAN GROUP DECLINED TO ATTEND THE PLEDGING CONFERENCE AND REFUSED TO MAKE ANY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECADE. IN CONTRAST, SEVERAL ARAB STATES WHICH HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY SUPPORTED DECADE-RELATED PROGRAMS HAVE MADE CONTRIBUTIONS. SOME ARAB STATES ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE LANGUAGE IN THE

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DECADE RESOLUTIONS THAT WOULD HAVE CONDEMNED ZIONISM. HOWEVER, THE SPONSORS ABANDONED THE ATTEMPT IN THE FACE OF U.S. OPPOSITION.

10. SECURITY (DISARMAMENT) ISSUES. AS REPORTED IN CFR NO. 51 OF DECEMBER 21, 1977, THE DISARMAMENT DEBATE WAS LOW-KEYED AND REMARKABLY CONSTRUCTIVE. CONTROVERSY WAS MUTED BY THE REALIZATION THAT THE SAME ISSUES WOULD BE TREATED IN DEPTH AT THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) TO BE HELD IN 1978, AS WELL AS BY THE GENERALLY MORE MODERATE APPROACH OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHICH CAUSED THEM TO SHELVE MANY OF THEIR PREVIOUS UNREALISTIC DEMANDS. THE NON-ALIGNED INTRODUCED RESOLUTIONS IMPORTANT TO THE US AND THE SOVIETS, E.G. ON A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB), SALT AND NON-PROLIFERATION, WHICH WE AND THE SOVIETS WERE ABLE TO SUPPORT. NEVERTHELESS, SOME DIFFERENCES WERE APPARENT. THE NON-ALIGNED REMAINED CRITICAL OF THE SPECIAL POSITION ACCORDED THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES IN THE NPT SYSTEM AND OF VERTICAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION (I.E., INCREASES IN BIG POWER NUCLEAR ARSENALS). THEY INSISTED ON THE NEED FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY THE BIG POWERS RATHER THAN THE LIMITATION

OF HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION AMONG THE NON-NUCLEAR POWERS. THE SOVIETS' WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE US IN IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE DISARMAMENT DEBATE SEEMS TO HAVE REFLECTED THE STATE OF US-USSR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

A. CTB. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY YEARS, A SINGLE CTB RESOLUTION COMMANDED VERY BROAD SUPPORT, INCLUDING THE US, THE SOVIETS, AS WELL AS MANY NEAR-NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES. THE ORIGINAL NON-ALIGNED TEXT WAS SUBSTANTIALLY REVISED IN EXTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER VIEWPOINTS, AND A SEPARATE SOVIET DRAFT WAS DROPPED. THE RESOLUTION REFERS FAVORABLY TO THE CTB TRILATERALS AMONG THE US, USSR AND UK, URGING THEM TO COMPLETE AND SUBMIT THE RESULTS OF THEIR NEGOTIATIONS TO THE SPRING 1978 SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE
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ON DISARMAMENT (CCD). THE CCD IS REQUESTED TO USE THE AGREED TRILATERAL TEXT AS THE BASIS FOR A DRAFT CTB TREATY WHICH IS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE SSOD.

B. NON-PROLIFERATION. NON-PROLIFERATION WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT DISARMAMENT ISSUE AT THIS SESSION. IN ADDITION TO THE STANDARD, PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION ON THE IAEA REPORT, TWO SHARPLY CONTRASTING RESOLUTIONS ON NON-PROLIFERATION WERE SUBMITTED, ONE BY THE FINNS AND ONE BY THE NON-ALIGNED. THE FINNISH RESOLUTION, ALTHOUGH INCORPORATING REFERENCES TO ALTERNATIVES TO NPT ADHERENCE AND TO THE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES TO PEACEFUL NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, CLEARLY GIVES PREFERENCE TO THE NPT AND THE IAEA. THE NON-ALIGNED RESOLUTION, ON THE OTHER HAND, EMPHASIZED THE INTEREST OF NON-NPT PARTIES IN ACCESS TO EQUIPMENT, MATERIALS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION UNDER "UNIVERSAL AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY" SAFEGUARDS. ULTIMATELY BOTH RESOLUTIONS WERE AMENDED TO MAKE THEM BROADLY ACCEPTABLE AND WERE ADOPTED.

C. SALT. THE SALT RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE 31ST SESSION CONDEMNED WHAT ITS SPONSORS BELIEVED TO BE INSUFFICIENT US/USSR ENDEAVORS IN THIS AREA. THE RESOLUTION AT THIS SESSION WAS A MAJOR IMPROVEMENT, CALLING ON THE US AND THE USSR TO IMPLEMENT THE DECLARATIONS OF THEIR LEADERS REGARDING STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BOTH THE US AND THE SOVIETS WERE ABLE TO SUPPORT IT.

D. NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONES. THE SOVIETS ABSTAINED ON PAKISTAN'S RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME WE WERE
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ABLE TO SUPPORT ALL IMPORTANT PROPOSALS FOR SUCH ZONES--
IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA.

11. COMMENT. DESPITE THE MASS OF UNFINISHED AND
POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE BUSINESS THAT WILL BE CARRIED OVER
TO THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ESPECIALLY IN THE
INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ECONOMIC FIELD, THE DEPARTMENT
BELIEVES THIS SESSION TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF THE MOST
CONSTRUCTIVE IN RECENT YEARS. IN ADDITION TO MAKING
PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ISSUES, SUCH AS CYPRUS,
HIJACKING, TORTURE, CTB, THE SESSION PROVIDED MANY
OPPORTUNITIES FOR REAL TALK AND COOPERATION AND WAS
A SIGNIFICANT CONFIDENCE-BUILDER. IT CONFIRMED THAT
MOST LDCS WISH TO AVOID CONFRONTATION, ALTHOUGH THEY
WILL CONTINUE TO EXERT POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THE US
AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO MOVE TOWARD NAM AND
G-77 POSITIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES. THIS SESSION MAY HAVE

CORRECTED THE IMPRESSION IN BOTH THE THIRD WORLD AND
THE WEST THAT THERE IS NEITHER A WILL NOR A WAY TO
BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES IN NATIONAL INTERESTS THAT
HAVE GENERATED CONFRONTATION IN THE PAST. THE SESSION
ALSO DEMONSTRATED THE UN'S VALUE AS A FORUM FOR US
FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, AND PROVED THE UTILITY OF
AN ACTIVE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, WHICH HAS DRAWN OUR
EMBASSIES MORE CLOSELY INTO THE PLANNING AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF US MULTILATERAL ACTIVITIES. WE MUST
NOW TRY TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM ATTAINED AT THE 32ND
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AS WE PROCEED THROUGH A CROWDED
1978 MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS AGENDA.

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